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"CHEAP SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR."

"THE fallacies of figures,"—not "figures of speech," but "the figures of Cocker and Hutton,"—are admirably exposed in a capital article of the *Spectator* which accompanied the celebrated supplement which bears the above caption. It is not unlikely that the witty editor had an eye to its well-arranged tables and imposing statements when he wrote it, and was anxious to put his readers on their guard against its seductive influence. Be this as it may, a better illustration of "the fallacies of figures" can scarcely be found than in the article on "Cheap Sugar by Free Labour." Its author evidently falls within the description of those who, "when they get hold of a sum or sums, keep multiplying, and dividing, and stating ratios, with untiring assiduity, without ever troubling their heads as to whether the figures they are working upon represent facts." In our former remarks on the article, we gave a specimen or two of the ingenuity which had been exhibited in getting up a case, and pointed out the fallacies by dealing with the figures as representing facts, and by supplying omissions which its author had found it convenient to his purpose to make. We now pass from his figures to his bold and unqualified statements, that the great diminution of colonial produce which took place between 1833 and 1841 "was occasioned by the consequences of emancipation alone;" and that at the time the produce fell off, "the remuneration of the labourers, even of the occasional labourers, continued at a rate high beyond the parallel of any country at any time past or present." These statements we charged with "a glaring want of truth," and "absurd exaggeration," as we do also another like them, viz., that "almost the whole of the price paid for sugar goes into their (the negroes') pockets."

1. As to the diminution in the amount of produce shipped to Great Britain from the British West Indies, between 1833 and 1841, being attributable to "the consequences of emancipation alone." The quantity imported in 1833 was 3,646,205 cwt.; in 1841, when it reached its *minimum* point, 2,151,217 cwt. That a portion of the diminution is to be traced to emancipation there can be no doubt. The changes in the distribution of labour, consequent upon the transition from the apprenticeship to complete freedom, may be stated as one cause. For instance, when the tradesmen on estates became masters of their own persons and time, they generally refused to labour in the fields, as they had formerly done, when the exigencies of the estates required it. To this must be added the partial secession from field-labour of the women, and the general withdrawal of children under ten years of age from work about the buildings, and the diminution in the effective strength of the labourers between 1833 and 1841, by deaths over births, amounting to at least 50,000. Against this, however, must be set the increased ability of the labourers to work, from their being better fed, and from their now acting under the stimulus of wages instead of the whip; and from the addition made to the labouring population by a large number of comparatively idle persons, generally exempted during the days of slavery from field labour by attendance at the great house, as cooks, grooms, hunters, fishers, attendants, housekeepers, &c., amounting to several thousands, who, under the system of freedom, are compelled to labour.

But to the operation of coercive laws—to the unwise attempts of the planters to compel labour, at a low price, by means of an oppressive system of tenancy, summary ejections, and other harsh proceedings; to the want of capital to secure the full amount of labour required on the estates, or to pay for it with exactness and regularity; and especially to the unparalleled droughts which prevailed during the years 1839 and 1840, must be principally ascribed the decrease in the produce of these years, and which reached its highest point in 1841, when their full effect was felt.

The consequences resulting from the injudicious and, in many respects, heartless proceedings of the planters, were most injurious to the estates. The labourers withdrew, and rendered themselves independent of the control attempted to be exercised over them, by founding free villages; and, of course, the labour thus subtracted from the estates was severely felt, not only during the planting, but more particularly during the crop season, when every hand was wanted.

To the combined operation of these several causes, and not to "emancipation alone," must be attributed the diminution in the produce between 1833 and 1841.

In confirmation of these remarks, we confidently refer to the general correspondence of the Governors of colonies with the Colonial Office, and to the detailed reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates; and to the fact, that by the partial removal of these causes during 1842, the produce was increased over that of 1841, 328,215 cwt.; and that, during the present year, the quantity is anticipated, by the planters themselves, to exceed that of the last by 250,000 to 300,000 cwt. The fact is, there can be little doubt

that the crisis of the sugar colonies is past, and that but little fear need be entertained of their future prosperity, provided they are not made the theatre of visionary schemes, and of costly immigration experiments.

2. As it respects the alleged excessive remuneration paid the labourers, asserted to be "high beyond the parallel of any country at any time past or present." A brief statement of the current rate of wages paid in the British colonies will suffice to confute this absurd misrepresentation. In Jamaica, the wages paid to the field labourer vary from 1s. to 1s. 6d. sterling per day of nine hours; those employed in the manufacture of sugar, 2s. per day of twelve hours; head men, 2s. per day; and artisans—carpenters, masons, &c., 2s. 6d. per day. Rent is usually charged, for use of hut and ground, from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per week, according to circumstances. In Barbadoes, the wages paid are 10d. per day, hut, and sometimes a small patch of ground included. In Antigua, from 9d. to 1s. 1d. per day is given, huts included. In St. Kitts, from 1s. 0d. to 1s. 4d. per day; rent charged 2s. 1d. per week. British Guiana, 1s. 4d. per day of seven and a half hours, or per task, and 2s. 1d. to labourers about the buildings, who work from 10 to 14 hours, with the addition of a meal prepared for them. No charge for cottages, unless the labourer fail to perform six tasks weekly, when 8d. is attempted to be deducted for each deficient task, under the name of house-rent. In Trinidad, 2s. 1d. per day is given; no rent charged. If labourers prefer working by the job or task, they are paid in proportion to the work done; and this is found to be most satisfactory, both to the planter and to the labourer. In some of the smaller colonies, the amount of wages paid the labourers does not exceed 6d. per day, with huts rent free. Now the average amount of wages paid the negro labourer does not exceed that received by the British peasant, and will not bear a comparison with that paid to agricultural labourers in the United States. In Trinidad, even, it is a well known fact, that the inducements the planters offer the free people of colour of that country, are not sufficient to induce them to resort thither, though a free passage is provided for those who will accept it.

On the authority of Mr. Campbell, the proprietor of several estates in Demerara, our author states the average cost of making sugar in that colony, from 1831 to 1833, varied from 5s. 9d. to 9s. 6d. per cwt.; from 1835 to 1837, from 5s. 5d. to 8s. 8d.; but that in 1839 to 1841 it rose as high as from 26s. 9d. to 31s. 1d. per cwt. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that Mr. Campbell's statements are utterly repudiated in British Guiana, as are also those of Mr. Barkly, who gives for the manufacture of sugar, for the periods referred to, 17s., 12s., and 54s. 8d. per cwt. In an elaborate statement laid before Government in 1831, the average price at which sugar was produced throughout the West Indies was 15s. 10d. per cwt., the particulars of which were given in detail. Amidst the conflicting statements of the planters, it is difficult to get at the truth. Yet on such vague and uncertain testimony as they present, the author of the supplement ventures to build his theories, and to make the most confident assertions.

3. As to the statement, that almost the whole price of the sugar goes into the pockets of the negroes, it will be sufficient to show what proportion the wages paid to them bear to the other expenses of an estate to refute the assumption. Fortunately, we have the means furnished by the planters themselves, to prove how little worthy of credit that writer can be who ventures to make such an assertion. The expenses of sixty-two estates in British Guiana, which are reported to have made 10,343 hogsheads of sugar in 1841, are thus set forth:—Labourers' wages, 637,597 dollars; other expenses, 658,081 dollars.—It thus appears, even if this account were correct, which is more than doubted, that the wages of labour did not amount to one half of the other expenses of these estates.

The design of the writer of the article is obvious enough. He wishes to make out a case for the planters, and cares not what amount of injustice he inflicts upon the negroes. Hence, because a head man on Mr. Barkly's estate in Demerara talked of Madeira wine, and a negro bridal party in Antigua was met gaily dressed, and a body of labourers in Jamaica contributed liberally towards the support of a mission station, the whole body are represented as living on "luxuries," and an appeal is made to the prejudices of the people, as disgraceful to him who makes it as it would be disgraceful for them to heed it. That the negroes should "enjoy the luxuries of the middle class at home is scandalous!" "The people of England will not endure this!" The truth is, whatever this writer may say, the cause of the negro labourer in the British colonies, is the cause of the white labourer at home. The secret of the negro's liberality on festive and religious occasions may be traced to his general economy and thriftiness. Here is a statement taken from the Report of Hall Pringle, Esq., a stipendiary magistrate of Jamaica, made in November, 1841, which explains the matter,

"The negro is so temperate, and in food (of the coarse description he prefers) so sparing in its consumption, that unless, as in the case of the last two years of drought, which destroyed the ground provisions, the price of labour is little, if at all affected by the price of food." And, contrasting the European with the negro labourer he observes, "The white man requires a portion of his diet to consist of animal food, to support his enervated frame; the negro seldom uses it. The white man cannot, like the negro, exist on a sweet potato or a cocoa, and on the salt and refuse of a herring barrel, nor can he live for weeks on the fruits of the country, as the negro labourer frequently does. The negro with impunity can go unclothed in all seasons, in the noon-day sun or under the midnight damps. The necessities of life which the white labourer requires are precisely the same as in his native country, (with the exception of firing,) and these are only to be purchased at double the cost of the same article in England, while his wages, estimating them at about one shilling and sixpence per day, are not higher than the wages which may be procured in England, and are much lower than are usual in other colonies (e.g. Australia and Canada) where the demand for labour is great, and the climate not of that dangerous description like the climate here. In this country, where sickness so much prevails, the charge to the poor for medicine and medical advice is from three to four times the price of the same in England; and with respect to food, the price of salt pork, not of the best quality, varies from one shilling and sixpence to one shilling per pound. The price of yams, (used as a substitute for potatoes) has, within the last four years, varied from twelve to eight shillings per cwt. The cost of these articles sufficiently, as an example, proves the excessive cost of the necessities of life in this colony."

Here, then, we have a picture of the negro's habits; he is frugal, he feeds himself with the plainest food, and is liberal only in his dress and occasional feasts, or in contributing to the support of those institutions, from which he and his children are deriving so many and such blessed advantages.

We shall resume our remarks on other topics suggested by the supplement in our next.

PROPOSED MEASURES FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

In our last Number we gave the substance of a communication we had received from Paris on the above subject. Since then we have received the report of the French Commission appointed by the King as far back as May, 1840, to examine, amongst other points, the question of slavery, and to report upon the same. The Commission was composed of MM. le Duc de Broglie, President; le Comte de Saint Cricq, le Marquis d'Audifret, le Comte de Sade, and le Baron Rossi, Peers of France; MM. Wustemberg, De Tracy, H. Passy, De Tocqueville, Bignon, Reynard, and Galos, Deputies; Admirals le Baron de Mackau, and le Comte de Moges; MM. Filleau de Saint Hilaire, Counsellor of State, and Jubelin, Commissary-General of Marine; M. Mestro, Chief Officer of the Colonial Department, Secretary. The Board thus constituted, after three years' deliberation, presented to the Government and the Chambers the result of their inquiries, in a volume of 438 pages, from which we propose to give a condensed view of the measures for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, which the Commission agreed to recommend.

The report of the Commission is embraced under the following heads:—First, the abolition of slavery viewed in relation to public order; secondly, in relation to the real interests of the slave population; thirdly, in relation to the interests of the planters; and, fourthly, in relation to the maintenance of the colonial system.

It would appear, from the documents laid before the Commission, that the colonial Councils are decidedly opposed to the abolition of slavery; but that the special Councils of the colonies, appointed by the King, conceive that emancipation may take place, provided there be time given for maturing the necessary measures of a legislative and administrative character to prepare the way for so great an event.

Notwithstanding the hostility of the colonial Councils, the Commission, after a careful consideration of the result of emancipation in the British colonies, arrived at the most perfect and unanimous conviction, that the abolition of slavery in the French colonies might take place without injury to person or property, or the disturbance of public order. They dwell upon the fact that 800,000 negroes in the nineteen colonies belonging to this country were emancipated in one day,—and that during eight years which have elapsed they have not occasioned a tenth part of the trouble to which the least political question gives rise among the civilized nations of Europe.

On another question, however, which they pronounced to be infinitely more delicate and complex, viz.:—whether the emancipated negroes will labour under the stimulus of wages, as well as under the rigorous discipline of the whip, they were not agreed. In dealing with this point, the colonial Councils avail themselves of the old arguments of the natural indolence of the negroes, and of the certainty of their reverting into barbarism, unless kept under a state of discipline and restraint. In opposition to their opinions, the Commission refer to the unanimous testimony of Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel, that the result of the great experiment in the British colonies, viewed as a whole, had surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the most ardent friends of colonial prosperity. To this official declaration they add the testimony of our estimable countryman, Joseph John Gurney, whose "Winter in the West Indies" is so well known and appreciated.

Not content, however, with such testimonies as these, they have framed with great care several tables, the first of which shows the amount of produce raised in the British West Indies for a period of sixteen years, terminating at the close of 1841, by which they demonstrate that the quantity of sugar raised during the latter half of the period is nearly equal to the amount raised in the former half, and that, though less in quantity, it produced the planters a larger revenue in return.

In perusing their inquiries, we regret to perceive, that they give undue prominence to the statements of interested parties, whose sole object it has been either to disguise facts favourable to the negroes, or to exaggerate difficulties of their own creation; while, in opposition to their statements, the official testimony of the stipendiary magistrate is passed over almost in entire silence.

Among the reasons which appear to have had great influence on the Commission in recommending the abolition of slavery, are those which arise from the possibility of war with this country, and the probability that, under existing circumstances, the French negroes will escape to the British islands contiguous to their own. In the event of a war, they give it as their opinion, that the safety of the colonies is linked with the freedom of the slaves; and with respect to the evasion of slaves, they point to the fact, that they are continually escaping, and that the British government will listen to no reclamations for their restoration.

Having disposed of the general considerations connected with the subject, they propose, in view of emancipation, to increase the armed force of the colonies, both civil and military,—to erect additional tribunals for the punishment of disorders and crime, contingent on emancipation—to provide more prisons and places of detention for offenders—to introduce educational establishments—asylums for the poor, the infirm, and the sick—to provide for the religious instruction of the people, and to prepare such rules for the regulation of police and order as the exigencies of the case may seem to require.

In reference to the slave, the Commission observe that at present he is regarded by the law not as a person, but as a thing,—and that the system under which he is placed is contrary to all the laws of morality; that it depraves the master as well as the slave, by conferring on him an authority which no man ought to exercise over his fellow man; that it depraves the slave in reducing him to the condition of a brute, depriving him of all voluntary activity and personal responsibility, and cutting him off from innumerable blessings he would otherwise enjoy. Yet the Commission conceive that the general condition of slaves, physically considered, is much improved of late years,—that their nourishment is healthy and sufficient,—that they are lodged and clothed in accordance with the exigencies of the climate,—that they are properly cared for in sickness,—that their labour is not excessive,—that their punishments are moderate and continually diminishing,—that the cells in which they were formerly incarcerated are in progress of being replaced by well-aired prisons,—that mutilations have fallen into desuetude,—that instruments of torture, such as masks, collars armed with prongs, &c., are no longer employed, except for intimidation: of course, all this must be taken *cum grano salis*.

The Commission pass under review various schemes of emancipation, none of which, however, do they adopt, though they examine them much in detail. The English system of apprenticeship they discard as full of defects; and for reasons, not very cogent, they reject the proposition of a small number in the Commission, who were the advocates of immediate and entire abolition.

The majority finally proposed that slavery shall cease to exist in the French colonies on the 1st of January, 1853. That, therefore, the slaves shall remain in their present condition, as fixed by the edicts and ordinances now in force in the colonies, subject to the following modifications, viz.:—That they shall be raised, as to civil rights, from the condition of a thing to that of a person—that the bonds of parentage and family relations shall be recognized and guaranteed—that an efficacious, moral, and religious education shall be provided for the blacks of both sexes and of all ages—that they shall be subjected to fixed rules of labour—and that the transition from coerced to voluntary labour shall be also regulated. Of course, under this system the slave will have power over his *peculium*, to dispose of it as he may think fit; but that he shall be interdicted from civil action, except by a curator *ad hoc*, named by the Procureur du Roi.

Having restored personality to the slave, the Commission propose to give him, to a certain extent, the right to dispose of himself and his family. They therefore recommend that he shall be invested, when married, with a certain degree of authority over his wife; and as a father, with a certain degree of authority over his children; but not to such an extent as to interfere in the least possible degree with the discipline of the estates. Having become men, possessing civil and social rights, called to be the heads of families, and allowed to possess property, the slaves, say the Commission, will necessarily rise in their own estimation, without nominally leaving their actual position. To the Government, they leave the care of the moral and religious education of the slaves, and certain propositions for an increase of teachers are made; the recommendations, however, are confined exclusively to those of the Roman Catholic Church.

In reference to the labour exacted from slaves, the Commission observe that it amounts daily to from nine to nine hours and a half; that the repose of the Sabbath is secured to the slave; and that almost everywhere Saturday is given to him. As to the modes of coercing labour, the Commission repose with confidence on the

enlightened discernment of the executive authority in carrying into effect the various modifications of the Code Noir, now in force. Finally the Commission propose to vest in the slave, the right of self-redemption at an appraised value, and to provide for this being done in a summary and inexpensive manner.

At the termination of the system of slavery they propose that the enfranchised negro shall reside during five consecutive years in the colony in which he shall have been emancipated—that he shall engage himself for one or more years in the service of one or more colonists—that the engagement shall be contracted before the authorities, and after the form regulated by them—that the scale of wages shall be fixed annually by the Governor in Council, and that those who neglect or refuse to act in conformity with the regulations laid down, shall be compelled to labour gratuitously in a workhouse until they consent to act according to law—that failing their engagements, they shall be subject to the diminution of a portion of their wages not exceeding one half—that their employers failing to perform their duty shall be subjected to a fine of from 25 to 100 francs, and that both parties shall have power to appeal to the ordinary tribunals for the redress of injuries inflicted. For a second offence the negro may be sentenced to the workhouse to gratuitous labour for from five to thirty days.

In conclusion, the Commission propose a compensation to the planters of 150,000,000 of francs with the interest of 4 per cent., which may accrue thereon, to be paid to them on the first of January, 1853. The distribution of this sum to be regulated according to certain principles which are laid down, and which are designed to secure to each colony its just proportion.

Such is an outline of the principal scheme for emancipating the slaves in the French colonies. There is yet another which provides for the gradual emancipation of the children of slaves which shall date from the 1st of January, 1838, and terminate in 1863. The cost of this scheme will amount to about 80,000,000 of francs; it is, however, unnecessary to give the details, inasmuch as with the exception of its being more gradual in its character it is, in its main features, like that we have briefly described.

For the present, we forbear comment, but cannot close without expressing our most earnest hope, that the plan of emancipation proposed by the majority of the Commission may be reconsidered, and the great act of justice to a long-oppressed and much-injured race be speedily and completely effected.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN PORTUGAL.

WE have great pleasure in submitting to our readers the following report of the Portuguese Ultramarine Commission, appointed to consider the project for the liberation of slaves in Portuguese India. It is most cheering to find that our great question is making rapid progress in various parts of the world.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.—SESSION OF THE 20th APRIL, 1843.

The Viscount de Sa, for the Commission, read the following:—

The Ultramarine Commission, in order to form its opinion on solid grounds, on the project of laws presented to this chamber by the noble Peers, the Count de Lavradio, and the Viscount Sa de Bandedeira, applied through the Secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, to those members of that assembly, who being natives of India, were elected from that part of the monarchy as deputies to the general Cortes, requesting them to inform the commission if without producing serious inconveniences, the proclamations of the 19th of September, 1761, and of the 16th of January, 1773, which abolished the state of slavery in Portugal, in the Madeira Islands, and in the Azores, could be put in force in the Indian territories.

From the replies of these gentlemen, which are subjoined to this opinion, the following are extracts:—

Under date of the 16th of February, the Senhor Antonio Caetana Pacheco, deputy, referring to the African negro slaves conveyed to the ports of Portuguese India, says that the children of these slaves born in India, are not there reputed as slaves; and that with respect to the negroes imported, he knows of no law that can give a title to their being considered as slaves; and that in his opinion, as there is no person in India who has a valid claim or right to the individuals there called slaves, it is most just to make a law declaratory of the non-existence of slavery in the Portuguese Asiatic States.

On the 20th of February, Sr. Bernardo Peres da Silva, deputy, states that he is of opinion, that the project is not only one of justice, good policy, and morality, but of great utility in those territories in which there is a superabundant population that seeks occupations in the English possessions; that some Malay and Timorean slaves exist in Macao and Timor, but that such are unnecessary, because in Macao there are for service as many Chinese as can be wanted, who are excellent servants, and in Timor the population is so numerous, that no inconvenience can result to the Portuguese for want of slaves.

On the 21st of February, the very reverend the Bishop elect of Malacca, ex-deputy, says, that the state of slavery in Portuguese Asia is sustained there at the present day solely from motives of luxury and indolence; that the cessation of slavery will produce no sensible evils either to the State or to individuals; that the period of fifteen years fixed by article three* for its total abolition does not

appear to him necessary, from four to six years being sufficient for the emancipation of the slaves in the city of Macao and the islands of Solor and Timor; that in the territories of Goa, Damaon, and Diu, the number of slaves does not exceed sixty, the greater part of whom have reverted to the Government from having belonged to extinct convents; that for this reason they might, from the present moment be declared free, without any sensible injury resulting therefrom; that in Macao there are one hundred, of whom about eighty are in the service of the custom-house, having been bought by the senate, and twenty belonging to individuals; that, in Delli, in the island of Timor, there are as many more, all belonging to individuals; and that, in order to substitute free men in the place of these a period of from four to six years will be requisite for total emancipation. It is, however, officially reported that the number of slaves in Macao has augmented, which could not have taken place except in contravention of the decree of the 10th of December, 1838.

Some further information is found in a letter subjoined to this opinion, from the late viceroy of Portuguese India, Don Manoel de Portugal e Castro, dated 6th April, and directed to the Commission, in which he declared his entire approval of the article, which makes the proclamations of the 19th September, 1761, and the 16th January, 1773, applicable to Portuguese Asia, and proposes another measure which is inserted in the project now before the Chamber. It is very gratifying to the Commission to see the unanimity of opinion on this important subject amongst those elected by the Asiatic Portuguese people, and by so high an administrative authority.

In view of these statements of persons so conspicuous and conversant with the peculiar circumstances in which the Portuguese territories in Asia are found with respect to the state of slavery, the Ultramarine Commission, adopting as a base the propositions of the two noble peers, judge fit to alter its provisions, substituting for articles 3, 4, 5, and 6, the project now presented for the approval of the Chamber, by the dispositions of which the total abolition of slavery shall take place at the expiration of three years, the proprietors of slaves being indemnified for them, in a manner the least onerous to the public revenue. The Commission considers the proposed measure as a sequel to the wise and humane legislation of the King Don José, in proclamations issued on the 6th of June, 1755, and on the 29th of May, 1758, declaring all the Indians of Brazil to be free; and in that of September, 1761, and of the 16th of January, 1773, which abolished the slavery of the negroes then existing in Portugal, and in the Islands of Madeira and the Azores; this sovereign giving the first example of the total abolition of slavery in the European colonies.

The Commission entertains the flattering hope, that the measure for the abolition of slavery, now proposed for the Portuguese Asiatic dependencies, may be extended at no distant period to the Portuguese possessions in Africa: it will be only when throughout the Portuguese monarchy not a single slave shall exist, that the legislative system commenced by the King Don José will receive its complete fulfilment. It will be then only that we shall be able to hope that the traffic in slaves will cease in Portuguese Africa, and that the decree of the 10th of December, 1838, and the stipulations of the treaties for the suppression of that infamous traffic will be completely executed.

The Commission, in order to render the law more complete, judge it proper to make the additions forming the articles of the project which it has the honour to present to the Chamber.

Art. 7 prohibits in the Asiatic possessions the corporeal and cruel punishments which in their own dwellings many masters of slaves are accustomed to inflict on them; a practice, which besides other most serious evils, tends to habituate to acts of cruelty, not only in the masters of the slaves themselves, but also in all the members of the family.

As the slaves in those territories will remain in that condition but a short space of time, enjoying at its termination all that the laws guarantee to them, it is proper that in the meanwhile they should possess such advantages as without prejudice to society may be conceded to them.

This arrangement will render necessary the improvement of the legislation or the customs, in which the authority of the masters of slaves is founded, as have been practised by some European Governments which have colonies. If it is not possible to abolish at once the state of slavery throughout the Portuguese monarchy, we may at least provide, that the unhappy beings who are in this state shall have a guarantee that they shall be punished only by the public authority, with correction the limit of which should be fixed by law or decree.

The Commission hopes to see the regulation of which this article treats applied with advantage to the African possessions of the monarchy.

Article 9, which establishes penalties for those authorities who violate the provisions of this law, is necessary, because the experience of every day shows that without penal enactments the laws are not obeyed as they prescribe, and more especially in the ultramarine provinces. This article provides also that these functionaries should be judged in the first and last instance by the proper courts of judicature.

In this provision, the Commission had in view not only to give more promptitude and efficacy to the judgment, but also to assimilate the process against the crime of slave-trading with that of the Mixed Commission Courts under treaty stipulations with Great Britain; it not appearing decorous that the national tribunals

* Vide *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 3, p. 157.

should have less authority than those in which half the judges are foreigners.

(Signed) PALMELLA.
SA DA BANDEIRA.
DE LAVRADIO.

PROJECT AGREED TO BY THE COMMISSION.

The Count of Lavradio and Viscount Sa da Bandeira have brought to the Portuguese Chamber of Peers a project of law for the total abolition of slavery in Portuguese India, which, having been revised by a committee, contains the following articles:—1st. That the edicts of September, 1761, and January, 1763, which abolished slavery in the kingdom of Portugal, shall extend to all Portuguese India, viz., Goa, Salsete, Bardez, Damaon, Diu, Macao, and the islands of Timor and Solor. All persons born in, or who enter these territories, from the publication of this law, are declared free. 2nd. The Government will make the necessary regulations for the full execution of these edicts. 3rd. Slaves of either sex, existing in these territories, who are national property, shall receive certificates of manumission from the Governor-General of India, as soon as he receives this law; but they will only enjoy entire liberty three years after its publication. The first year they will serve as heretofore; but the second and third, their service can only be exacted on payment of a gratuity, which will be fixed by the Governor-General in Council. 4th. Slaves of either sex, whether private or public property, may obtain their own ransom, from the date of the publication of this law, on payment of a determinate sum, which shall be fixed by the Governor-General in Council. All slaves, who may be desirous and able to obtain their freedom in the manner above specified, will possess the right of applying, for that purpose, to the highest authority of the country in which he or she resides. 5th. Slaves of either sex, who are private property, will be free at the expiration of three years from the publication of this law; for which purpose the state will indemnify the owners of slaves in a determinate sum, which will be paid on the day of emancipation, either in specie, or in bills payable as cash into the custom-houses of those dominions. The Government will make the necessary regulations to fix the amount of indemnification, which will be determined on according to the age and sex of the emancipated slaves. 6th. The alienation of slaves belonging to the state is strictly prohibited. 7th. The Government will publish a regulation for the punishment of slaves, while they exist in India, which may only be inflicted in public, and by order of a public authority, to whom the masters of slaves will declare their reasons for desiring them to be punished. 8th. The Government will present all the regulations specified in this law to the Cortes, in the next or successive legislative session; as also a return, specifying the number of slaves, of either sex, existing in those territories, and whether they belong to the state or not. 9th. All public authorities who contravene the provisions of the third, fourth, and fifth articles of this law, will incur the penalties awarded to those who consign free persons to slavery; and will be tried, in first and last instances, by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Goa.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

FUNDS.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. They would especially remind them of the additional heavy expenses which will necessarily attend the forthcoming Convention, and beg to suggest the propriety of a distinct subscription to meet the same. Those friends who have collecting books will have the kindness to forward any such sums as they may have collected, as early as convenient. Donations and subscriptions are received by the treasurer, G. W. Alexander, Esq., at the office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad-street, London.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 3, 1843.

THE anniversary meetings of the great religious and philanthropic institutions of this country have already commenced; and, during the course of the next month or six weeks will be continued. Thousands of the most active and intelligent friends of education, of Bible circulation, and of missions, from various parts of the country, and from abroad, will assemble in this great metropolis, to recommend by their eloquence, to sustain by their liberality, and hallow by their prayers, these various and important objects. A fitting sequel to these meetings will be the great Anti-Slavery Convention, which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with the resolution of the convention held in 1840, has convened to be holden at Freemasons' Hall, on Tuesday, the 13th of June next, and for as many successive days as may be necessary to bring the business which may be brought before it to a close. The venerable Thomas Clarkson, though bowed down under the weight of nearly eighty-four years, has consented to be its President. At that Convention, the condition of millions of the human race now held in slavery will be presented to the prayerful sympathies of the Christian philanthropists who may be assembled. The friends of education will there find, who, of all the human family, are most deprived of the treasures of knowledge; the friends of the Bible will there discover, who, of all their fellow-men, are most shut out of the light of that sacred volume; and the friends of missions will there learn, who, of all the heathen, are most denied the instruction and consolations of

the Gospel. Nor are they summoned merely to behold the misery, degradation, and oppression of millions of the human race; information will be laid before them of the progress and principles of the Anti-Slavery cause in this and in other countries, and their united counsels and support will be requested to forward the great object it will have in view, viz., the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. For the information of our friends generally, into whose hands the circular of the Committee, summoning the Convention, may not have fallen, we give the following extract, which at once sets forth the fundamental principle on which it will be constituted, and the parties who are eligible to be present at its sittings, viz.—

"That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

"Where societies for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, or bodies, though not bearing that name, uniting in these great objects, exist, the Committee trust that an effort will be made to secure by specific appointment the attendance of one or more gentlemen as their representatives; and express provision will be made for the admission of gentlemen uniting in the objects and principles of this Society from foreign countries, where, from any circumstances, such associations do not exist."

The following cities and towns in Great Britain have already appointed delegates:—Alford, Bath, Birmingham, Bradford, (Wilts,) Bristol, Cambridge, Chatham, Cockermouth, Cirencester, Derby, Exeter, Edinburgh, Gloucester, Hitchin, Ipswich, Kingsbridge, Kingston-on-Thames, Liskeard, Liverpool, Lewes, Norwich, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Rochester, Strood, Southampton, Spilsby, Southwark Ladies, Sheffield, Stoke Newington Ladies, Tiverton, Wellingborough, Woodbridge, and Worcester.

The Committee have received intimation, that delegates have already been appointed to represent societies in the states of Indiana, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York,—and they are anticipating additional nominations from other parts of the United States, France, Holland, and the West Indies.

We are requested to state, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will feel obliged to their friends to whom circulars have been sent, if they will forward, at the earliest possible moment, lists of delegates who have been nominated to attend the Convention.

THE mission of Mr. Ellis, the British Envoy to Brazil, has failed, and it is probable that he is now on his passage homewards. It would, perhaps, be useless to speculate on the consequences of so abrupt a termination of commercial negotiations between the two countries; but, politically speaking, the friendship of Great Britain is of vastly more importance to Brazil, than the commerce of Brazil can be of value to Great Britain. To this country Brazil owes her independence, the means of carrying on her government, and the development of her resources; and to this country she must still look for the means of overcoming her present difficulties, and of retrieving her almost desperate fortunes. In saying this, we must not be understood to undervalue commercial relations with Brazil; on the contrary, we would extend and consolidate them, by placing them on a sound and permanent basis.

The terms which, it appears, the Brazilian Government proposed as a basis for a commercial treaty with this country were deemed so inadmissible by Mr. Ellis, that negotiations were broken off almost as soon as they were begun. Under no circumstances would they allow of a greater differential duty than ten per cent. being placed on the produce of Brazil entering British ports, over that which might be levied on similar produce coming from British colonies. What terms Mr. Ellis was authorized to propose does not appear; so that, at the present moment, we are unable to say whether the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade entered into the conditions. But whether it did form part of the conditions or not,—whether Brazil chooses to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain or not, the Government is in a position to demand the fulfilment, to the very letter, of the treaty stipulations of that country with us for the complete extinction of the slave-trade, and for the liberation from slavery of all negroes illicitly introduced into Brazil since 1831; for in that year her own laws decreed the slave-trade to be piracy, and provided for the liberation of its victims from bondage on touching her shores.

In reference to Brazil, slavery is admitted by her best men and ablest statesmen to be her greatest curse; but they are controlled by a party, chiefly Portuguese, resident in the country, more formidable for their wealth than their numbers. These, aware of the general weakness of the Government, and resorting to bribery or the knife, whenever their nefarious schemes are likely to be checked, triumph over it; and, in defiance of the laws of the empire, carry on an enormous slave-trade. Were slavery abolished, and the freedom of labour guaranteed, there can be little doubt that both capital and labour would find its way to Brazil in abundance, whilst, morally, a blessing would be conferred on that country incalculable in its extent, and inappreciable in its consequences.

In reference to Great Britain, the abolition of slavery by Brazil would be of vast importance, not only in removing the grand impediment to the most friendly relations between the two countries, an impediment which must exist until slavery be removed, but in opening a larger and better market for her various merchandise,

and in enabling her to receive, on the best possible terms, the produce of the empire in return.

For our own part, we are free to confess that, if the Brazilian Government would put an end to slavery, we should be amongst the first to forego any advantage supposed to be derived from differential duties in favour of British colonial produce. But if they are determined to retain slavery—although they are bound by their own laws, as well as by treaty, to abolish it, so far, at least, as all who have been illicitly introduced are concerned,—then we sincerely trust that this country will never consent to negotiate any treaty with Brazil, which shall either weaken its claims to the exact and immediate fulfilment of its slave-trade conventions, or which shall leave in slavery those wretched beings, who, contrary to their stipulations, and to existing laws, are now illegally held in bondage in that country.

A REVOLUTION at once popular and complete has just taken place in Hayti. The causes which have led to this event have been long in operation, and therefore it has occasioned us no surprise. M. Boyer has abdicated the functions of President, and retired to Jamaica. The successful party have solemnly deposed, and denounced him as a traitor; and implicated in the same charge Generals Inginac, St. Victor Poil, Borgella, Riche, and Messrs. A. B. and C. C. Ardouin and Villeraileix. We hope that those now in power will act wisely and moderately, and be enabled to lay deep and wide the foundations of the national prosperity.

By the late lamented death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex the Anti-Slavery cause has lost one of its most devoted friends. Following the illustrious example of his cousin, the late Duke of Gloucester, who, as President of the African Institution, was for many years the warm and consistent friend of Africa, the deceased Prince was ever prompt to extend his generous aid on behalf of the suffering and the oppressed. The last time His Royal Highness presided over the Anniversary Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was in 1840, at the close of the great Convention, when he entered with much interest and animation into its proceedings. On that occasion, the illustrious Duke said, "If I understand their object, it is by all peaceable, religious, and moral means, to carry into effect the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. I may therefore use an expression which I have frequently adopted in other places as well as here. This is a catholic cause. It is a cause which combines all nations,—all religions,—all colours,—and it is right that it should be so; for that all-merciful Power which presides over this meeting and this cause, as He does over every religious and good cause, looks down equally on the lowest as on the highest, on the black man as well as on the white."

The memory of His Royal Highness will be long cherished by all who have the freedom, happiness, and elevation of the entire human race in view; and we sincerely trust there never will be wanting in the royal house of which the Duke was so bright an ornament, those, who will cherish and publicly advocate, the great philanthropic principles to which he was so much attached.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Monday, April 24, 1843.

BRAZILS, AND JAMAICA.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL rose and said, he would take that opportunity of putting some questions to the right honourable baronet respecting the commercial treaties which this country was now negotiating, and about which it might be expected that the Government would give the house some information. With respect to the negotiations with Portugal, it had been stated in an official paper, the *Gazette* of Lisbon, that the terms proposed by the English Government had been finally rejected. He had seen it also stated in the public papers, that with respect to the Brazils the negotiations had entirely failed, and that the gentleman who had been sent to that country was about to return home. If it was true that those negotiations had failed, and were at an end, he thought it might be fairly asked that some communication should be made to the house. It was of great importance to all persons engaged in those trades which would be affected by those negotiations to know whether there was an end to them or not, and on what footing they would be placed. He did not much wish to enter at present into the question of the policy to be adopted if they had failed. They would probably, at an early period, have an opportunity of discussing that subject. All he wished to ask at present was, whether the statement they had seen in the public papers was correct? There was another question which he wished to put to the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies, with respect to the act that had been passed in Jamaica, levying certain duties on the produce of England and Ireland. It was stated on a former occasion by an honourable gentleman that the duties levied on the produce of Ireland, in the island of Jamaica, amounted to 40 per cent. Last year they had passed a bill which had been first introduced by his right honourable friend the member for Taunton, and taken up by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who, with the support of the Government, had carried forward the bill, by which all the differential duties in the colonies were reduced to seven and four per cent. It was quite contrary to the spirit of that act that a bill should be passed in Jamaica to levy such heavy duties on the produce of this country when imported into that island. He supposed, however, that the Government was sensible of the importance of the subject, and had decided to interfere with the royal authority, and refuse to sanction the measures of the Jamaica Legislature. He had stated the points on which he wished to have information, and he begged to ask for answers to his questions. He hoped the noble lord would state, with respect to the act of the Jamaica Legislature, that he would be ready to lay the papers

connected with it before the house. There were other papers, too, connected with the island of Jamaica which were generally laid on the table of the house before this period of the session; and he hoped the noble lord would take the opportunity of laying all those papers together before the house.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said that before the holidays an honourable gentleman had put questions to him concerning our negotiations with Brazils and Portugal; and on that honourable gentleman giving him notice that he intended to ask those questions of him again, he had requested that honourable gentleman to postpone his questions till the morrow. Tomorrow, then, he should be prepared to answer both as to Portugal and Brazils, and he begged to postpone the answer to the noble lord to the same period.

LORD STANLEY said, with regard to the question of the noble lord in reference to Jamaica, he must remark that the act complained of was only passed for nine months. He had only that morning received private information from the Board of Trade, to which, as the noble lord knew, all such questions were referred, that the Board had taken the subject into consideration. Although he (Lord Stanley) entirely concurred with the noble lord in his objection to these high duties, in some cases amounting to nearly 40 per cent., yet he thought the noble lord was rather hasty in concluding that it was a matter of course that the Government should advise Her Majesty to withhold her sanction to the bill, which was passed in the first instance for nine months, and compel the legislature of Jamaica to assemble at a most inconvenient season. He was quite prepared to say that the amount of these duties was highly objectionable in principle, and the Governor of Jamaica had been instructed to refuse his assent to any future bill for imposing similar duties.

VISCOUNT HOWICK wished to know on what grounds the Governor had sanctioned the present bill?

LORD STANLEY said he had not recently received any communication from the Governor; he was therefore unable to answer the question. Neither had he received the official report from the Board of Trade, and when he had received that report, he should immediately, and he hoped by the next packet, communicate with the Governor-General.

Tuesday, April 25.

TREATY WITH BRAZIL.

MR. EWART was understood to repeat the questions which he had put to the right honourable baronet previous to the Easter recess, relative to the commercial treaties with Brazil and Portugal; and, also, as to the return of Mr. Ellis from Brazil.

SIR ROBERT PEEL replied, as to the question put by the honourable gentleman,—whether Mr. Ellis was on his way to this country,—he must say, as to that particular question, that he had not heard that Mr. Ellis had taken his departure from Rio de Janeiro. With respect to Brazil, the state of the negotiation was this. At the close of last year, it was thought by them to be of importance to send to Brazil a gentleman who was in possession of the opinions and who had the confidence of Her Majesty's Government, for the purpose of making certain proposals to the Brazilian Government on the subject of a commercial treaty with that country. At that time they had every reason to believe that the Brazilian Government would persist in maintaining its construction of the existing treaty. According to the construction here of the existing commercial treaty, that treaty was not to expire until November, 1844. The construction which the Brazilian Government placed on the treaty was, that it expired in November, 1842. Of course a political question of great importance arose—there was a disputed treaty, and it was very important that an attempt should be made to have an amicable settlement of two such different constructions of the same treaty by the two Governments. One point, then, which was intrusted to Mr. Ellis was, that he should attempt to induce the Government of Brazil to accept that construction of the treaty which the late and the present Government had put upon it; namely, that the treaty, clearly by the terms and the spirit of it, did not expire until the month of November, 1844. That was one point which Mr. Ellis had to settle with the Brazilian Government. But before Mr. Ellis had arrived at Rio Janeiro, it was signified to the representative of Her Majesty at that court, that the Brazilian Government coincided with this construction of the treaty; and, consequently, that the existing treaty would endure until the month of November, 1844. That, then, was to be the earliest period of its termination. (Hear, hear.) They had then provided Mr. Ellis with instructions, that in case the Brazilian Government should be disposed to acquiesce in it, they would be willing to forego the special advantages which that treaty gave them, provided they could come to a permanent understanding in relation, and with respect to a commercial treaty. Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Ellis in that country, there were indications of a probable change in the then existing ministry. Mr. Ellis had, however, the opportunity of communicating what were the views of his own Government to the executive authorities that were then in existence in Brazil. In the month of January, or at the close of last year, the change of government that had been anticipated took place, and there was a total change of the councils of the Emperor of Brazil. Shortly after the formation of the new administration, Mr. Ellis proposed entering upon negotiations with respect to their commercial relations with Brazil. He proposed the appointment of a plenipotentiary for the purposes of this commercial arrangement. The Secretary of State (San Honorio) declared his readiness to discuss the subject, and to take upon himself the duties of a plenipotentiary; but he stated at once that he should feel it incumbent upon him, from a sense of duty, to insist that all articles constituting the agricultural produce of Brazil—coffee, sugar, tobacco, and rum—should be admitted into the markets of England precisely as the produce of her own colonies would be. Mr. Ellis informed him that his instructions did not permit him to negotiate on such a basis. The Secretary, (San Honorio,) after some time, said he had some modifications to propose, but the whole extent of his proposal amounted to this—that the difference of the duties imposed in this country on articles from Brazil should not exceed ten per cent. on the produce of the English colonies. Mr. Ellis informed him that the terms were such that he was not authorised to submit to them, and the negotiation was at an end. According to the last information received, Mr. Ellis had not left that country. He had only now, then, to state, that

the purport of the declaration of the Brazilian Government was, that they could not permit any higher duties—no duties that should exceed ten per cent.—upon the articles of their produce than the duties upon similar articles coming from English colonies; and Mr. Ellis submitted to them that these were terms to which this Government could not accede.

Mr. LABOUCHERE wished to know whether he was to understand that the Brazilian Government had absolutely refused to treat at all, with a view to a commercial treaty with this country, unless the terms they had proposed to us, as the basis of such treaty, were agreed to; or if any attempt had been made to ascertain from them whether or not they might have been induced to entertain a treaty in which a clause, commonly known as "the most friendly nation clause," were introduced; that clause, as was well known, going to the effect of declaring that the state contracted with should be subject to no higher duties than were imposed upon any third state in commercial relationship with us? He was anxious to know whether any proposition of this kind had been made to the Brazilian Government, and if it was subsequent to such proposition that they had refused to treat further?

Sir R. PEEL said, that in answering the questions put to him on this subject he laboured under some disadvantage, which might possibly cause him to do injustice to the Brazilian Government, from the fact that the last accounts which had been received by Her Majesty's Government from Brazil had been made up within so short a period before the departure of the ship, that Mr. Ellis had not time to enclose a copy of the letter which he had just received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and could only give a summary of its contents; and the tenor of it was that M. San Honorio had refused to entertain any commercial negotiations, except upon the basis that no articles mentioned subject to differential duties should be subject to differential increase exceeding ten per cent. He (Sir R. Peel) was not now in a position to be able to state whether or not Mr. Ellis had made a proposal to the Brazilian Government of putting them upon a footing of the most friendly nations; but by the next accounts he hoped to have full particulars upon this and every other point connected with this negotiation.

In reply to a question from Lord J. RUSSELL,

Sir R. PEEL said that he could not encourage the noble lord to believe that any result had been attained materially different from that which he had already explained to the house. Mr. Ellis, in his despatch, mentioned something about some new proposition being in contemplation, but added that it was not his impression that any such proposition would be carried into effect, and that under this feeling he was then making preparations for his departure. It was possible, however, that some new proposition might have been brought forward between the date when this letter was written and the day of Mr. Ellis's contemplated departure. He had now told the noble lord all that he knew on this subject. When he got the letter which he had mentioned as having been referred to in Mr. Ellis's last despatch, he should be able to tell the house exactly the nature of any propositions which had been made to the Brazilian Government, and the manner in which they had been received. (Hear, hear.)

SLAVE-PRODUCED SUGARS.

Mr. M. GIBSON, adverting to the previous conversation on the Brazilian treaty, expressed his fears that in common with many others he laboured under some misapprehension as to the opinions and actions of Her Majesty's present advisers. When the measure for the reduction of the duty on foreign sugars was some two or three years since under the consideration of the house, a great opposition to it was excited by the party now in power, on the ground that it would be impolitic to permit the introduction at reduced duties of foreign sugar produced by slave labour, and that it would be necessary before such reduction was effected to induce the Brazilian Government to make some arrangement for the suppression of slavery throughout that nation. Now, the question of slavery and the slave-trade not having been mentioned in connexion with the subject of the treaty was calculated, he feared, to cause some misapprehension; and he, therefore, should take leave to ask whether Mr. Ellis was instructed by Her Majesty's ministers to make any application to the Brazilian Government upon this subject prior to concluding the treaty he was sent to negotiate? (Hear, and an ironical laugh.)

Sir R. PEEL said, that Mr. Ellis had been charged to make various alternative proposals in case his first proposition should fail of success. He was instructed to waive any exclusive advantages we might possess, and among other proposals he was certainly charged with one respecting slavery and the slave-trade. It had not been necessary, however, to bring that question more especially under the consideration of the Brazilian Government, San Honorio having declared that he could only treat with Great Britain on the understanding that Brazilian produce should be admitted into England at a rate of duty not exceeding ten per cent. That was the ground upon which the treaty was broken off, and the question of slavery and the slave-trade had not in any way occasioned the result.

Wednesday, April 26.

COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BRAZILS.

Mr. M. GIBSON said there were one or two points in the statement of the right hon. baronet yesterday on the subject of the recent commercial negotiations with the Brazils on which he should wish to have some further information. These related to the duties on foreign and colonial sugars. He did not wish to ask what was the exact amount of duties proposed in each case; the question he wished to put was this:—It would be in the recollection of the house that the right hon. baronet had stated, that when Mr. Ellis went out to the Brazils the Brazilian minister said that his Government would consent to have the duties on Brazilian sugars ten per cent. higher than those on our own colonial sugars. The question he wished to put was, what was the amount of protection which Her Majesty's Government had empowered Mr. Ellis to insist on with respect to the sugars of our own colonies? He should like to hear what Mr. Ellis's own proposals were. The state of the case, on one side, had been already divulged in the statement of the right hon. baronet, and he thought it was not unfair to ask for similar information as to the other.

Sir R. PEEL said he wished he could reward the persevering exertions

of the hon. member to extract further information from him on these subjects; but at present he was unable to do so beyond what he had already stated. The hon. member must see that he (Sir R. Peel) could not give him public information as to the offers made to the Brazilian Government.

Mr. M. GIBSON said, that what he wanted to know was the amount of the protecting duty proposed for our West India colonies, and whether the negotiations had been broken off in consequence of the difficulties on that subject or upon the question of slavery?

Sir R. PEEL said, that he had yesterday given all the information he possessed on the subject.

Sir W. BARRON.—Then it was to be understood that the question of slavery was not at all mixed up with the negotiation?

Sir R. PEEL would only repeat that he had given all the information which he possessed on the subject.

PROJECT FOR LIBERATING FROM SLAVERY ALL AFRICANS ILLICITLY INTRODUCED INTO THE SPANISH COLONIES.

IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES, AND THE LAWS OF SPAIN.

WE give below a translation of an article which recently appeared in the Madrid *Guía del Comercio*, on the pending negotiations between the British and Spanish Governments for giving effect to the treaties now in existence between these powers for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The stipulations of these treaties embrace two points: first, the entire abolition of the criminal traffic throughout the Spanish dependencies from the 30th October, 1820; and, secondly, the liberation from slavery of all negroes illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies since that period.

It must be obvious to those who have waded through the vast pile of official documents bearing on the subject, for the last twenty-three years, that the conduct of the Spanish Government, and of its representatives in Cuba and Puerto Rico, has been one continued act of bad faith. Year after year tens of thousands of negroes have been introduced into the Spanish colonies, until the slave population has swelled from about 250,000, in 1820, to upwards of 600,000, in 1842; and so flagrant has been the violation of the slave-trade treaties, and so great the forbearance of this country on the subject, that, until a recent period, not the slightest heed was given to our representations and remonstrances.

Now, however, that there is a strong probability, we hope we may say certainly, that the British Government is seriously bent on giving the treaties their due effect, the greatest consternation is felt in Cuba, and indignation expressed by the pro-slavery party throughout Spain.

Great Britain demands the fulfilment of the treaties to the letter, and has therefore proposed to Spain the formation of a joint tribunal at the Havanna, which shall have power to summon before it such negroes as are said to have been surreptitiously introduced into the Spanish colonies, as well as the persons assuming to be the owners of such negroes, and all other individuals apparently concerned in, or having any knowledge of the transaction in question, with power to declare such negroes to be free, is found to be so, and of liberating them accordingly.

This is the weapon put into her hands by Spain, which Great Britain is now wielding for the accomplishment of her righteous object; and there can be no doubt, that, if it be faithfully used, it will effectually secure it.

"We are about to make some remarks on this much-debated question, which employs so many pens, and agitates so many minds. We shall examine it temperately, in order to avoid declamation, which, if unjustly employed by the weak, becomes ridiculous. Facts will make the matter clear.

"At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, which took place in consequence of the fall of Buonaparte, England, whether from philanthropy, religion, or interest, or because she willed it, began to concert with the great European powers the abolition of the slave trade, in which object she has constantly persisted.

"If Spain, or any other nation, did not agree in that sentiment, or was injured by it, she ought then to have opposed it frankly and decidedly. Spain at that time (thanks to the incapacity of the recently arrived monarch, Ferdinand the Seventh) was reckoned among the inferior powers, and her reclamations were timid and of no weight. She was able, however, to dissemble, and elude the question for the moment; but, in 1817, Ferdinand the Seventh and his government wanting means to discharge debts, and equally wanting in discretion, as well as in confidence at home and consideration abroad, basely yielded to the urgent solicitations of England, and entered into a treaty by which he bound himself, from that time, not to admit any more slaves into his American possessions; and in order that the emancipation of the existing slaves might be accomplished the more easily and with the least possible violence, he requested, and it was agreed, that during a period of four years he might fill up the deficiencies in population with Europeans, or in any other manner that might be more convenient to him.

"The Spanish monarch was accustomed to yield to the demands and exigencies of the moment, and get out of it afterwards in the best manner that he could; but on this point he probably consented to the arrangement without the ability or the will to fulfil it; at least, it may be deduced from facts, that neither he nor his functionaries subsequently cared anything about carrying the treaty into effect. Remonstrated against by England on different occasions, on account of the evident and notorious contravention of its stipulations, he constantly, and not very decorously, eluded its realization. But, treating with a powerful nation, with whom he could not with impunity break his engagement, nor easily deceive or hoodwink, he was unable to free himself from her demands. England

affirms, (and all Europe, Africa, and America know it, and even Spain herself cannot but admit it,) that, from the time that the period designated in the treaty expired, slaves have been continually introduced into the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, at a rate not less than that at which they were imported previous thereto: and it appears that they have now reached the number of 600,000 persons, without our Government or the authorities having taken a single step to prevent it; but, on the contrary, according to public rumour, which has not been contradicted, these same functionaries have supported and aided such fraudulent introduction: no Spaniard, nor even the government, being ignorant that, in order to evade the penalty which the English could exact for such manifest breach of faith, they have employed all kinds of subterfuges, and made use of the flags of other countries, encouraging, by this reprehensible abuse, a contraband traffic and extensive maritime piracy.

"At length England, seeing all her measures frustrated, her reclamations for the fulfilment of the treaty constantly eluded, hopeless of the firm determination and ability of Spain to execute it; and seeing, also, that Spaniards pursued the traffic, availing themselves, as already observed, of the flags of all countries to evade its stipulations; has taken upon herself the duty of carrying it into effect without trusting any longer to promises so repeatedly broken. She has communicated with all the powers upon the necessity of putting an end to the piratical commerce in slaves, in order that her vessels of war may be authorised to watch, visit, and pursue all vessels suspected of being engaged in this traffic, whatever flag they may bear. The great powers have given their assent to it. France and the United States have deferred their desires of explanation. The smaller powers cannot oppose it; nor can we, whose interests are those principally affected by this great negotiation, now find reasons with which to avoid, or, it may be, force to resist it.

"But now England requires more: she demands (and this is the most important part of this question) that we should pay for past offences: she demands that the treaty be carried into effect as it ought to have been; that the effects of our violation of it may be repaired: that the slaves fraudulently introduced into the Spanish islands may be liberated; and, having no confidence in our compliance therewith, has demanded that a tribunal composed of individuals named by both Governments may be established in the island of Cuba for the investigations necessary to this object, and to prevent her demands being frustrated or eluded as they have been, so often, in times past.

"Spain having been without foresight or discernment, now cries out in despair, insults the stronger, without, in our judgment, having any plausible pretext for so doing. Her complaints, recriminations, and attacks are now abortive, since England is in the right, and we know not with what arguments she may be combated.

"If, as we believe, these are the facts of the case, public writers should, in view of them, consider the question, abstaining from declamation and affronts little conducive to their object, and which unaccompanied with reason, or with force, become supremely ridiculous and even laughable.

"Spain should have resisted honourably and openly, that which she deemed inconvenient. If she had not sufficient courage to do this, if she had not a government equal to it, nor knew how to create one in time, why does she now pronounce intemperate imprecations against foreigners?

"Leaving that which is inappropriate to the subject, it appears to us indiscreet in our present situation, when we want friends and sympathies that may be favourable to us throughout Europe, when France herself regards us with marked displeasure, which perhaps might manifest itself more decisively but for England—setting this aside, we ask, is it prudent to insult with acrimony and without sufficient motive, a nation which, by abandoning us to our errors and weaknesses, would place us in greater difficulties, and oblige us to carry into effect, that which through our weakness and ignorance we have stipulated to perform? This we believe to be neither reasonable nor convenient.—*Guia del Comercia, (Madrid, March 15, 1843.)*

NARRATIVE OF JAMES THOMPSON, A BRITISH SUBJECT, TWENTY-ONE YEARS A CUBAN SLAVE.

We commend the following affecting narrative to the attention of our readers. It is but a brief outline of the miseries which poor Thompson had to endure as a slave in Cuba. It is melancholy to reflect that at this time there are several thousands of British subjects in that island in a condition as deplorable as that from which he has escaped. This fact we have from the highest authority. The British Government, we trust, will not allow the information of which we know they are the depositaries on this painful subject, to remain unused, nor suffer any merely technical difficulties, or diplomatic formalities, to prevent their demanding the restoration of these wretched beings to the homes from which they were originally torn, and where a multitude of their relations and friends are now enjoying the blessings of complete freedom. So large is the number of British subjects held in slavery in one district in the island of Cuba, that the English language is almost exclusively spoken among them. We took occasion, about two years ago, to call attention to this important matter, and pointed out the fact that not only in Cuba, but also in Puerto Rico, and the French West Indies, considerable numbers of British-born subjects were pining in bondage, and looking with intense interest to this country for deliverance.

My name is James Thompson. I was born in Nassau, New Providence, in the year 1812. My father, John Thompson, a native of Ireland, engaged in salt-works at Ragged Island, was married to a white lady named Fisher, belonging to Harbour Island, by whom he had several children, one of whom, Sarah, was married to a person named John Norris, an American settled at Gibara, in the island of Cuba. My mother was a slave of my father's, by whom he had two children, myself and a sister who died young. Previous to my father's decease, he manumitted my mother and myself, allotting a piece of ground for our support. When I was about eight years of age, John Norris came over to Nassau on some

business. I was playing at marbles in the market, when he came up and enticed me away, giving me some cake, and asking me if I would go on a frolic with him. I said yes, but asked to go and speak to my mother. To this he replied that I need not do that, as we should not be long. We then went on board a vessel, and proceeded to Ragged Island, where we took in salt, and then sailed for Gibara. On arriving at that place, I asked Norris what he had brought me there for. He said that he had brought me to see my sister, his wife. She had always been very fond of me, and when we met, immediately inquired whether my mother knew I was coming away from Nassau. On my telling her of the circumstances of the case, she told her husband that he must take me back. Very high words frequently took place between them about me, and on one occasion he struck her with a cow-skin. I was so exasperated, that, child as I was, I gave him a severe blow on the head with a stick which I held in my hand. He turned upon me, and gave me a blow with the cow-skin across the shoulders, the marks of which yet remain. After this event my sister returned to Nassau, from whence she sent a vessel to fetch me; but I had, in the meantime, been sold to a man named Thomaso Uela, residing at Holguin, and carried into the country. Norris sent word to Uela to hide me; and thus, although my sister and her brother, Alexander Thompson, came over to Gibara to search for me, I could nowhere be found. I never saw my sister after she left Norris, to whom she never returned. I have since understood that she settled in the neighbourhood of Gibara, and is still living there.

I did not suppose that I had been sold to Uela, Norris having told me that I was to go to him only to learn to make cigars. Accordingly, after three years, I told Uela that I wished, now I had learned the trade, to return to Nassau to see my mother. He told me that I was his slave; that he had paid Norris three hundred dollars for me. On my telling him that I was a free boy, and that Norris had no right to sell me, he gave me a severe blow on the head. Upon this I ran away to the Governor, and on my way I met Mr. La Motte, a native of Nassau, who, seeing my head all bleeding, inquired what was the matter, and accompanied me to the Governor, to inform him of the exact state of the case. Uela followed, and exhibited the legal deeds of sale; whereupon the Governor sent for Norris, who, however, was not to be found. I returned with Uela to his house, when he caused me to be ironed, and sent to work on the plantation. Shortly after this, Norris having made his appearance, we were all called up again before the Governor, who, finding that Norris had really sold me, as before stated, ordered his property to be seized. His partner, who resided in America, and to whom the estate really belonged, came to Cuba and claimed it. Norris returned to Nassau, where he gave himself up to drinking habits, and died a short time after in abject wretchedness, like a dog in the streets.

I, however, fared no better in consequence of this investigation. Thomaso Uela dying shortly afterwards, his son sold me to a Frenchman named Bateaulo, a baker at Puerto Principe. With him I remained about seven years, and learned the business of a baker. Here I was very well treated, my master fed and clothed me well, and I had not too much work. Every Sunday I was allowed to sell bread on my own account, and received besides many presents. I traded, also, in a small way, in hides and wax, and at the end of the seven years I had saved three hundred dollars, which I placed in my master's hands towards purchasing my freedom, the price of which he had fixed at five hundred. My master at this time had formed a partnership with another Frenchman, who proved a worthless character, and was much addicted to drinking. The consequence was, that in a short time their affairs fell into complete disorder, and my master, to avoid his creditors, ran away, leaving me a paper stating that I was freed. Notwithstanding which, I was seized with the rest of my master's property by the creditors; and though I showed the justice the before-mentioned paper, I was awarded to one of these, named Don Pancho. My little property was taken from me, in spite of my protestations. I had at the time an excellent chest of clothes, a couple of hogs, and about twenty dollars in cash.

Don Pancho carried me in a vessel to Havana, and sold me to Sr. Maqueta for four hundred dollars. This last had me conveyed to his coffee plantation, San Miguel, fourteen leagues from the city. For three months I was employed in cooking for the family, but my old mistress conceived a strong prejudice against me from my being a mulatto, she being herself of mixed blood, and preferring on that account to have negroes about her. She constantly urged her husband to send me to the field, which he refused to do. However, he was at last worried into sending me to work in the garden, where I continued about four months, when he desired me to return and be his private cook. He was living in a house detached from that of his wife and family, as they were continually quarrelling. One day, about three months after my return to my household occupations, one of my master's sons came to dine with him. He was much pleased with my cookery, and informed his mother how much better I did things than Maria, the slave whom they employed. The old lady immediately demanded that I should again be cook to the whole family. This I firmly refused to do, upon which she insisted that I should be sold. I was accordingly sent down to the captain of the district, Don Guillermo Galcio, to see if he would buy me. I remained with him a week on trial, and on the Sunday morning he was to have taken me to my master to close the bargain, when my master's son came down to fetch me back, as my old mistress had determined not to sell me, but to keep me for the purpose of subduing my spirit. I positively refused to return with him, upon which two of the police carried me back by force. I was then flogged, put in irons, and sent to labour in the field. The family, however, being still in want of a cook, after three months I was recalled. I now suffered much daily persecution at the hands of my old mistress, who, though my services were indispensable to her, could not endure the sight of me. She used almost daily, on coming into the kitchen, to strike me with a stick for some real or imaginary fault; and frequently declared that she would be the death of me if I did not get away from her, and yet always refusing her consent to my being sold, when my old master proposed it. Every evening, after my household work was over, I had to pick half a barrel of coffee, to collect wood, or to perform some other tasks. When I had been on the estate about four years, my old mistress died, but I only fared worse in consequence. Her son and daughter continually ill-used me; the latter would frequently take a

stick out of the fire, and break it over my head; and the former one day gave me such a severe beating with his *manati*, (a whip made of the skin of the sea-cow,) that I was three days in the hospital. My old master, to whom I complained, was unable to restrain them from exercising these varied cruelties on me; his remonstrances only irritated them, and increased their persecutions.

I now come to that event in my sorrowful life, the sufferings connected with which afflicted my mind much more than my poor lacerated body, as they were shared by one whom I loved with a sincere affection. There was a young African woman, name Juana, a fellow servant in the house, with whom I contracted an intimacy, and after two years, having collected by the sale of poultry, hogs, &c., a little stock of clothes and other necessities, besides eight dollars for the priest, we applied for permission to be married. My old master was quite willing, but his son and daughter were furious; the former from jealousy at the proposal. On the following day, on Sunday morning, we were both seized by order of this young man and thrown down, *boca bajo*, (mouth downwards,) as this method of inflicting punishment is denominated in the Spanish colonies, and in this position, side by side, and held by four men, we received 250 lashes each, the brother and sister looking on all the time. Our little stock of goods were burnt before our eyes, and our poultry and stock taken from us. After the flogging, a mixture of rum and cayenne pepper was poured upon the wounds, and we were then sent to the hospital, where we were confined three months. After this, we had irons placed on our feet, with a chain connecting them suspended from the waist. A collar with three hooks was placed round our necks and a coupling chain secured to each collar. Thus linked together, we worked in the field for two years and a half, being every night and during the hours of rest on the Sundays and festivals, confined in the stocks. Throughout the whole of this period, the collars and irons were never once removed. We were frequently whipped up by the drivers and punished by our master. Our lives became a burden to us, and my companion, on one occasion, spoke of putting an end to her existence, from which, however, I dissuaded her, remarking that we must soon die, and then our miseries would be at an end. For three months, during this period, I was sick with an eruption which broke out all over my skin; we were confined together in the stocks till I recovered.

After two years and a half we were taken back into the house. We still determined to remain faithful to each other; but the persecutions still continuing, she consented to my escaping, saying that it was better I should leave her than remain to be punished in the way I was almost daily. About three years after my return to the house, my mistress had a number of friends to visit her. She ordered me to have dinner ready by two o'clock. I replied that I could not get it ready by that hour without assistance; she said I should have none, and if it was not ready she would flog me. I did my best, but there being a quantity of poultry to kill and cook, the dinner was not ready until five o'clock. After dinner, my mistress ordered me to put the horses in the chaise, for I filled the duty of coachman as well as of cook, and I drove her to a dance, from which we did not return until midnight. My mistress then told me that as soon as the morning came, she would have me flogged for my disobedience. I said that perhaps it would be the last flogging she would ever give me. As soon as all had gone to rest, and I had put up the horses, I proceeded to boil a piece of jerked beef and a pot of coffee. Early in the morning, I heard the driver coming to call me, to undergo my punishment, upon which I threw my great coat over my shoulder and set off. On the following day, I struck on the railroad, leading to the Havana, where I had not proceeded far when I was seized by some negroes working on the railroad, for the sake of the four dollars' reward given for the capture of runaways. These took me to a hut and tied me by the hands and feet to a post. I was placed between two of them, one keeping watch while the other slept. In the night, however, they both fell asleep, when, untying my hands with my teeth, I afterwards loosed my feet and sprang towards the door which I burst open with a blow and run forwards, followed by my keepers. One of these kept close at my heels for nearly a mile, when, stopping suddenly, I tripped him up, giving him at the same time a heavy blow.

On the following day, I met a white man with a couple of dogs, who attempted to stop me, upon which I ran away towards a river that was near at hand. One of the dogs following me close, I turned round and killed it with a knife, which I had purchased the day before, and immediately plunged into the river. The man directed the other dog to follow, and the creature accordingly swam after me. Just as he was in the act of seizing me with his teeth, I turned in the water and thrust the knife into his throat; then swimming to the opposite bank I dared his master to follow me. I then concealed myself for some time in a cane field; and afterwards resuming my route, I arrived on the same evening at the Havana.

On going down to the wharf, I met a native of Jamaica, a former acquaintance, who advised me to go to the English Consul, Mr. Turnbull, and he accompanied me thither. Not finding him at the office, I had to go away and wait until the next day. While passing through the streets in search of a lodging, I saw Mr. —, a native of Nassau, who kindly gave me shelter, and on the following day identified me to the Consul, as did also a coloured woman, another native of Nassau.

After five months, during the greater part of which time I lived at the barracks, the Captain General having himself ordered me there, after seeing me, I was finally sent on board H.M.S. *Romney*, the dépôt for liberated Africans at the Havana. In this ship, I remained more than ten months, doing duty as captain's cook, when I was discharged by order of the Consul, Mr. Crawford, and sent to Nassau, my native place, where I found my grandmother still living, though very old and infirm. Mr. Turnbull being there on his way to England, I accompanied him thither. During my twenty-one years' bondage, I never lost my knowledge of English, having embraced every opportunity of conversing with persons whom I met, and who spoke that language; there was moreover an old man on the estate who understood it, with whom I used to talk.

Colonial Intelligence.

BARBADOES.—CROPS.—One of the most experienced practical planters has, we are informed, expressed his opinion, that the island never was in such a beautiful state of cultivation as it is at present; and that the prospect of an abundant crop, except in certain parts of St. Phillips's and Christchurch, which suffered severely from the late drought, is most cheering.—*Barbadian*, March 11.

Foreign Intelligence.

JAVA.—BATAVIA, Nov. 17.—The latest accounts from Banco are very favourable to the Dutch Government. The insurgent Chinese miners have been compelled by famine to surrender at discretion. The many insurrections which have always been quelled by the Dutch troops must have at length convinced the Chinese in Banco that they were too weak there to contend with Europeans. The slave-trade has been of late very actively carried on in the Dutch Indian possessions, especially on the west coast of Sumatra. It has lately been revived in the Padang territory, to purchase natives in the island of Nias opposite that coast, and bring them to West Sumatra. As the Rajah of Nias can dispose as he pleases of a great part of his subjects, and as the women of Nias are handsome, and therefore highly prized by the Europeans and Achenese in Sumatra, this trade continues to increase. Not only female slaves, but male slaves also, are brought from Nias to Sumatra, and compelled to perform the severest labour.—*Dutch paper*.

Miscellanea.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The *Persian*, 16, sloop, Commander T. N. Eden, appears to be very fortunate in her cruises against pirates and slavers. Another gallant exploit of an officer belonging to this sloop is narrated in a letter brought by a vessel from the coast. The *Persian* was off Whydah, in the Bight of Benin, when early in the morning of the 17th of December, a large suspicious looking vessel was descried at some distance. The master of the *Persian*, Mr. Birdwood (of Plymouth), who was in command of two boats with a crew of six men in each, immediately pushed towards her, and finding that she was desirous to avoid communication, Mr. B., although with so small a force, determined to board her; and, after four hours' chase, and tugging at the oars under a broiling sun, the *Persian's* boats got alongside. The vessel in the meantime used every effort to escape. As the boats advanced, she endeavoured to retard them by using her guns; and when the boats closed, she was inclined to make a stout resistance. But with their characteristic mettle, the boats' crew, headed by the master, grappled the vessel, fearlessly dashed on board, and, in a few seconds, although their opponents were treble in number, and armed with muskets, cutlasses, and pistols, drove them below, and established themselves in possession without the loss of a man. They found their prize to be a Portuguese slaver, a fine brig of 248 tons. She had mounted two long guns, which were loaded with canister shot, and had a complement of 36 men. Mr. Birdwood soon after joined his sloop, which was about five miles distant, when he and his companions were congratulated by his brother officers and ship's company on the success of their enterprise. The prisoners were put on shore at Whydah, and their valuable prize was sent into Sierra Leone for adjudication.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

SLAVE TRADE ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.—Extract of a letter, dated Clarence, Fernando Po, October 10:—"On the 2nd inst., the barque *Bernalinda Segarda*, prize to Her Majesty's ship *Madagascar*, with 120 slaves, arrived here in a very leaky state, having struck on the bar of the river in which she was captured, knocked away her forefoot and damaged the forepart of the keel. The day after she arrived here she was hauled upon the beach, in the expectation that it would be possible to repair the damaged parts so as to enable her to proceed with the slaves to Sierra Leone; this not being accomplished, the slaves and their provisions have been landed here, and the prize crew put on board the *Soudan*. The vessel remains on the beach, where she fills every tide, and will consequently become a wreck. The slaves have been placed under the charge of Mr. Hensman. The inhabitants of this town applied to the commander of the *Madagascar* to apportion the liberated slaves to them, but he declined doing so. How they will be disposed of remains to be seen; but it is so far fortunate for the liberated Africans, that there was a British commercial establishment here to afford them protection and security."—*Morning Herald*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subs.
Kilnock, Co. Carlow, Leekey, Mary James	20 0 0	
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Erratum.—In last list, instead of "Cirencester Auxiliary, donation 21.," read "T. Brewin, Hales Owen, donation 21."

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